DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 231 225 FL 013 784

AUTHOR	Craige, Tito
TITLE	Light a Candle: A Literacy Program with Haitian Farmworkers.
INSTITUTION	Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association, Inc., Raleigh, NC.
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	64p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association, Inc., Box 33315, Raleigh, NC 27606 ($4.00).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adults; *Cultural Background; *English (Second Language); *Haitians; Immigrants; Language Teachers; Literacy Education; *Migrant Education; Sociocultural Patterns

ABSTRACT

The material in this handbook is based on the contributions of English as a second language (ESL) teachers who have reflected on their experience with Haitian farmworkers. It deals with the following topics: (1) a cultural and social history of Haiti; (2) characteristics of and difficulties experienced by Haitian immigrants in the United States; (3) a description of the East Coast migrant stream as a source of employment; (4) suggestions for teaching the Haitian immigrants who are generally illiterate in their own language, Creole; (5) the background of the Haitian farmworker as the cultural context for learning; (6) a description of the farm labor system as context of learning; (7) a case study of the farmworker school, including a discussion of the situation of teaching English to nonliterate adults, and the process of becoming a teacher in the farmworker school; and (8) a brief evaluation of the project. An account of student interviews evaluating the program is appended. (AMH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED231225

LIGHT A CANDLE

A LITERACY PROGRAM WITH HAITIAN FARMWORKERS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Richard Joanis

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Tito Craige

Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association, Inc.
Raleigh, N.C.
1982

FL 013 784

© 1983 Migrant & Seasonal Farmworkers Association, Inc.

PREFACE

This book is written for teachers of English as a Second Language. It is designed to help the readers:

- -understand the reasons that Haitians have come to the United States;
- -see the role farm labor plays in North Carolina's farm economy;
- -recognize the implications of the above for ESL teaching with Haitian farmworkers;
- -identify the stages of growth ESL teachers experience as they develop the class; and,
- -work together to become effective and empathetic teachers.

Haitians come from an oppressive and impoverished country. After surviving incredible hardships during their passage to the United States, they often join the most ri[illegible] and oppressive labor system in America--migrant farmwork.

In spite of their handicaps, they survive. They survive experiences that few Americans ever know about. They, like the millions of immigrants before them, are determined to "make it" regardless of the price. A few teachers will have the opportunity to be part of the story of the first generation of these Haitian immigrants. It is to these teachers and their inspired students that this book is dedicated.

-Tito Craige
May, 1983

CONTENTS

I. Introduction.....1

II. Haiti: Roots of the Immigrants.....5

III. Haitian Immigrants in the United States.....13

IV. A Source of Employment: The Migrant Stream.....17

V. Haitian Migrant Farmworkers: Learning Styles.....25

VI. Haitian Migrant Farmworkers: Cultural Context for Learning.....29

VII. Haitian Migrant Farmworkers: The Farm Labor System as Context of Learning.....33

VIII. Case Study: The Farmworker School.....35

A. Qualifying the Teaching and Learning.....35
B. The Process of Becoming a Teacher.....49

IX. Evaluation.....59

Footnotes.....61

Appendix.....65

Bibliography.....67

I. INTRODUCTION

> People ask why we come. We come to this country for the same reasons the immigrants in the past have. We want food for our children, a decent place to live, an opportunity to work, a chance to go to school, a better way of life. We find ourselves in an alien environment where people do not speak our language, play our music, or eat our food. We work very hard and often endure conditions that are worse than what we left back home. Yet we still smile and walk with dignity and grace--because we have dreams of better days.
>
> -Emilienne, a Haitian woman
> November, 1982

Newly arrived Haitian immigrants know where they came from and where they want to go. They come from a home base that is rich with tradition. This base is their roots. They are the few who are making the gigantic physical and cultural leap to a new society.

The Haitians have arrived in a host culture that is alien from their own. Their adaptation is the process of a lifetime. They will constantly shelve behaviors from before that do not work now and they will try on new behaviors. The adaptation is slow when Haitians, as farmworkers, live in isolation from the rest of society. It is more rapid and successful when they can swap ideas with people in the host society. One of the best sources of this kind of dialogue is classes in English as a Second Language (ESL).

The immigrants know where they want to go and the ESL

teachers can help them get there. Teachers have roots in the host culture and understand the complex forms of interaction --using the telephone, buying sale items, finding a doctor.

The material for this book came from ESL teachers who have taught in migrant camps and who have reflected on their experiences. The teachers found that their many years of schooling and university training were not adequate preparation for the ESL work. While they understood the complex skills needed to survive in America, they were called to do more than hand out information. The students asked for English language skills, but, most of all, they wanted something more. This "something" was an affirmation of themselves as (1) people capable of learning English and (2) people who have pride in their heritage and value system.

While schools usually have curricula that are determined on the state level, there are many pitfalls to this approach. The alternative to this mainstream approach is to <u>involve the learner directly</u> in the educational process. The teacher is teacher of skills but also listener. The learner absorbs new information but also teaches the teacher about history and culture from home. This kind of teaching allows the students to share the class leadership. The teacher has to be able to enjoy and honor the contributions from the class. The teacher has to risk giving up some of the traditional control.

One teacher described this alternative teaching as follows:

> (Teaching is) like getting the professor out from behind the desk and in front of the students. It honors the students. It's the thought that "I know

something that can extend to you." It's an attitude. It's imprinting data without preaching. It's based on love, honor, peer relationship, dialoguing. It is being curious and asking the students about their needs. And all the while, it is a controlled unit. There is almost an invisible line of control. The best gifts for a teacher to have are vulnerability, flexibility, spontaneity and not being sure exactly what's going to happen. It's the most exciting kind of teaching. I don't fully know why it works. You just have to get up there and be naked. Honor is built into the system. Honor their honor.

II. HAITI: ROOTS OF THE IMMIGRANTS

Since 1979, over 50,000 Haitians have made an exodus to the United States. What are the roots of these immigrant people? Who are the people who have risked their lives to sail in tiny boats to a dream of a free life?

They come from the island of Hispaniola. Haiti occupies the western third and the Dominican Republic is to the east. Haiti is shaped like a pair of westward-facing jaws and is about the size of Maryland.

European colonists wrested the island from Arawak Indians in the fifteenth century. They imported African slaves to run the plantation economies. The slaves frequently fled and formed settlements in the mountains. On January 1, 1804, Jean-Jacques Dessalines proclaimed independence. He named the new country "Haiti," which means "mountainous" in the Arawak Indian language. Dessalines had succeeded in leading a slave revolt that expelled the greatest European power of the day. The poorly armed black men and women defeated Napoleon's forces and set up the second independent republic in the Western Hemisphere.

His successor was Henri Christophe, best known for his construction of the massive Citadelle near Cape Haitian. Since Christophe's death in 1820, Haiti has endured a profound

isolation from the rest of the world. Europe traded throughout the Caribbean, the Industrial Revolution arrived, World Wars I and II came and went. The U.S. Marines occupied Haiti from 1919 to 1934 and were deeply resented. From one generation to the next, the Haitian people labored in their peasant rural economy. By 1957, the rural Haitian led a life little different from that of his brothers and sisters one hundred and fifty years before.

In 1957, François (Papa Doc) Duvalier was elected president. He abolished the opposition and was named president for life. His secret police, the "Tontons Macoute," enforced his rule of terror. A small élite group took absolute power. Papa Doc died in 1971, and was replaced by his only son, Jean-Claude Duvalier. Baby Doc, as he is called, was soon made president for life and has continued to ban, exile or otherwise extinguish the opposition.

The United States has heavily financed the Duvalier regime. Little of the aid has reached the poorest and neediest.

> More than $618 million in aid has been funneled into the Haitian economy in the last eight years--and much of it has been wasted, a federal study says.
>
> Despite regular infusions of money from the United States and other nations, project after project has met with failure--and the prognosis is far from optimistic, the General Accounting Office (GAO) reports.
>
> The predicted result: Haitians will continue to flee their country for the United States, where the uncertain future is better than no future at all.
>
> "A fundamental turnaround to Haiti's dire economic condition" will not occur under current programs, the GAO study says, "nor will it substantially alter the economic factors that encourage emigration."

> Although it cites a few "bright spots," the GAO reports that all money--particularly $218 million from the United States--has done next to nothing to ease the average Haitian's day-to-day struggle for such basics as clean water and a decent meal.
>
> "We visited several areas of the country to view, firsthand, the extent of development problems," said the GAO report, released in February. "On each visit, we saw little evidence of human services. We did see development needs of all kinds.... We encountered inadequate roads, seriously malnourished children [and] severely eroded hillsides still under cultivation."[1]

Haiti is really two societies. One is poor. The other is wealthy. The élite, while few in number, has controlled Haiti's political and economic life since the 1804 Revolution. The upper class has also dominated one of the fundamental social and religious institutions, the official Catholic Church.

Rural Haitians are impoverished. Statistically, their most striking characteristic is their lack of money to buy anything produced by industry. Bus tickets, aluminum pots and new shoes are major expenses. Most Haitians are desperately poor. Four out of five Haitians make less than $131.00 per year.

Distribution of National Income[2]

Average per capita income in dollars	% of Population	% of National Income
$131.00 or less	84.7	35.8
$600.00 or less	14.5	20.5
$10,803.00+	.8	43.7

Rural Haiti is remote. Even though Haiti is no larger than Maryland, many towns can be reached only on foot or by sailboat. Once out of Port-au-Prince the traveller loses

touch with the conveniences of rapid transportation and telecommunications. Driving time to the southwest tip of Haiti is estimated to be approximately 160 hours--even though the distance is less than 200 miles. Haiti only has 600 miles of paved roads, 60 miles of railroad and 500 telephones out of Port-au-Prince.3

Two-thirds of Haiti is non-arable land.4 The huge mahogany forests were cut by the French and now the few remaining trees are harvested for charcoal production. Deforestation and erosion are the result.

Village life is very different from Port-au-Prince or Cape Haitian. There is often no running water or electricity. The people raise chickens, goats, corn and beans. Some harvest coconuts or fish. Children help out in the constant efforts to earn a little money.

The center of life is the family. Parents cherish their children and seek better lives for the next generation. The Haitians in the United States speak of leaving their homeland in order to earn the money to send their children to school.

Haiti's rural people are powerless and unschooled. They speak Haitian Creole, a language with no commonly accepted orthography and which is not taught in schools. If there is a school, the students are eager to attend. Unfortunately, Haiti has only 15 public secondary schools. Only 5% of students attend for more than four years.5 Almost 90% of the population is nonliterate and most of these do not even speak the official government language of French.

Health conditions for most Haitians, even for many in the cities, are abysmal. Although about 15% of the people live in Port-au-Prince, 60% of the doctors live in the capital city. In Haiti there is one doctor for every 6,000 patients and one nurse to 3,510 patients.[6]

Since Haiti expelled the Europeans earlier than any other Hemispheric nation except for the United States, much of the African heritage remains. This is especially true of rural Haitian religiosity. For most, Voodoo is the spirituality with a thin veneer of sacramental Catholicism.

It is said that Haitians are 90% Catholic and 100% believers in Voodoo. Although Catholicism is official and sacramental, the Catholic and Episcopal churches proudly point out that the church is becoming "Haitianized." Haitian men and women are now taking leadership positions in the church. In many places drums and dancing are part of the worship.

Vodun, or Voodoo, as it is often called, is a true religion and is based on African religions. It is active, colorful, joyful and sad. It <u>is</u> life. It is not a Sunday activity only; it is a people's spirit. In Vodun, there is one god with many other powerful forces in the world. These forces are not deities; they are spiritual forces, or "loas" in Creole. Dancing in Voodoo ceremonies pays heed to the "loas."

To the rural Haitian the city is the market place. It is a sophisticated, busy world of entrepreneurs, retailers and street merchants. While most goods are sold on the sidewalks and open-air markets, the city is also the home of multina-

tional corporations like GTE.

Of the 6,000,000 Haitians, almost 1,000,000 live in Port-au-Prince.[7] Many are newcomers and fill the squalid salt flats with thousands of tin and cardboard shanties. But Haiti's elite also lives in the city. This group is black and mulatto, highly educated, well-to-do and fully literate in French.

The disparity in incomes is vast. About 4,000 families are believed to command incomes in excess of U.S. $90,000 per year. Thus, the 60% with average incomes of $131.00 make less than .015% of those who make over $90,000.[8]

The elite remaining in Haiti, while small in number, has a tight grip on the entire country. Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier retains his hold through control of police and army power. He continues to use the dreaded Tontons Macoute (now called "Volunteers in National Service") and rules with absolute power--although not with complete peace. There has been much in-fighting between the black army officers and the mulatto upper class.

The author of a Twentieth Century Fund Study on Haiti writes:

> Haiti is brutal and rapacious tyranny. It is a country without due process, or any understanding of the meaning of the term; where all trials are show, arrests and imprisonments are whimsical--but brutal...[9]

In 1979, the Organization of American States noted that:

> Numerous people had died in summary executions dur-

ing their stay in prison.[10]

Protests from abroad have fallen on deaf ears. Duvalier makes it clear that President Reagan must offer foreign aid or Haiti will turn to her Cuban neighbor 50 miles to the west. In response to this kind of pressure, President Reagan sent this letter that outlines his plan for aid--the Caribbean Basin Initiative:

> Secretary Haig...told me he was especially impressed with your government's support of private enterprise and economic reform, staunch opposition to Cuban adventurism and continued ccoperation on multilateral issues.[11]

Since 1957 and the election of Papa Doc, hundreds of thousands of Haitians have decided to seek a better life elsewhere. The early wave was upper and middle class and settled in Paris, Montreal, Brooklyn and Queens, New York. Since 1977, Haitians have aimed for Florida. This group is poor, so poor that many set out in flimsy sailboats for the 800 mile journey. Many never arrived.

Others were thrown into internment camps like the one in the Everglades named Krome North. The former missile base held the new arrivals for over a year. The U.S. government filed no charges and offered no bail. The Haitian Refugee Center sued the Immigration Service. Legal challenges to the Immigration Service were successful and the Haitians were freed.

The former internees joined their fellow Haitians as so-called Haitian "Entrants." They are denied refugee status.

Instead, they are issued alien cards called "I-94's." These allow for eventual deportation.

III. HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Propelled by economic factors that are a direct result of the political system, over 500,000 Haitians have fled their homeland since 1957. They are too fearful and powerless to oppose the government of Jean-Claude Duvalier so they seek a better life elsewhere. They are inspired by dreams of mythical places like "Miami" and "Zetazini" (United States). This push out of Haiti and the pull to urban and industrial countries are the reasons that the immigrant population has included some 50,000 "boat people"--less affluent Haitians, such as small tenant farmers, who travel in sailboats and who do not have entry visas to the U.S. This group, distinctive from the upper- and middle-class immigrants, has arrived after 1972. Possessing fewer skills, little documentation for the immigration authorities, and few material assets, the new immigrants come onto the lowest rung of the North American socio-economic ladder.

The non-élite Haitian has emigrated from, perhaps permanently, the homeland of the last three centuries. He brings customs that are Haitian, African, rural, Catholic and Vodooist. Some of these traits militate against assimilation. Fear of the secret police and military, feelings of inferiority to the élite and literate class, Vodoo fatalism and a deference

encouraged in the traditional Church all slow the development of community organization and a substantive integration into the new life.

On the other hand, many of the psychological and social roots are assets in finding material and social survival. A history of cooperative work (kombit), strong kin ties and the language of Creole are riches shared by all Haitians.

The Haitian brings his cultural "baggage" to the new land and is met by a literate, industrialized, largely European, white-dominated, English-speaking world that controls the means of production, the land, labor and capital. While traditions of social support, a revolutionary history, music and dance are sources of pride, the Haitian, no matter how confident of his roots, starts with two or three strikes against him. Hungarians in 1956, Cubans in the 1960's and 1970's, and the Poles in 1982, have received U.S. government-granted refugee status and asylum. Not so the Haitian; those arriving after 1977 have a temporary and confusing partial amnesty.*

In July, 1980, the U.S. government established the Interagency Task Force on Cuban and Haitian Entrants to operate reception centers for the new arrivals. The Department of State ran the centers until November, 1980, when responsibility

---

*Cuban/Haitian Entrants are granted "parole (status pending)" until a deportation decision is made as a result of legal proceedings governed by the Immigration and Nationality Act. On May 26, 1982, INS Commissioner Alan C. Nelson ruled that, "If a person possesses a valid INS Form I-94, which states that the person is a Cuban/Haitian Entrant (Status Pending), that person is authorized to work in the United States until further notice."12

was transferred to the Department of Health and Human Services.

On October 10, 1980, the President signed into law the Refugee Education Assistance Act (P.L. 96-422). Under Title V of the Act, the Fascell/Stone Amendment, federal funding was authorized for social services and medical service reimbursement. Under Chapter III of the Supplemental Appropriations and Revision Act of 1980 (P.L. 96-304), $100 million became available. The President delegated administrative authority for the funding to the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services. The Secretary designated the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) as the agency responsible for grant awards to the states.

North Carolina applied for none of the money for fiscal 1981, but applied and received money in fiscal 1982 & 1983. The Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association was a contractor for the North Carolina grant. MSFA ran its ESL program, a translation and interpretation service, and outreach, information and referral in 1982 and 1983, through contracts with the N.C. Department of Human Resources and the U.S. Department of Labor.

IV. A SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT: THE MIGRANT STREAM

After the Entrants were processed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, a small number found their way into the East Coast migrant farmworker stream. By the summer of 1980, North Carolina had an estimated 850 Haitian farmworkers harvesting crops. By 1982, this number had jumped to 9,000. The rapid increase is due to the recession and the fact that many Haitians do not have the skills to obtain work in other sectors of the economy.

North Carolina's farmers work all year to plant, cultivate, harvest and sell their produce. Nationally, North Carolina ranks first in tobacco production, first in sweet potatoes, and second in pickle cucumbers. The cash value of North Carolina's agricultural commodities is over three billion dollars.[13]

While the farmers and their families handle much of the crop preparation, extra help is required, especially during harvest time. "The production and harvesting of most crop enterprises are mechanized,"[14] but manual labor is necessary for "tobacco and certain (vegetable and fruit)crops."[15]

Each year farmers hire over 140,000 seasonal farmworkers from the local area. In addition, some 40,000 migrant farmworkers and their dependents join the farm labor force.[16] These men and women are vital links between the farm and the market. "Virtually every state utilizes their skills at some point in the growing cycle."[17] The story of the men and women

who are migrant and seasonal farmworkers is the story of the labor that helps fill supermarkets throughout the United States and the rest of the world.

The East Coast migrant farmworker stream begins in early spring. When there are not enough local people to harvest the crops, the farmer often hires a labor contractor to provide a crew. The contractor, called the "crew boss," finds men and women to make up the crew. Then they drive, usually from Florida or Texas, up to the farmer's land. Americans, Mexicans, Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and Haitians move into the peak harvest areas for periods of a week to six months.

Unlike the agri-businesses of the West Coast and Midwest, the East Coast farms are small and numerous. In states to the north of Georgia, the stream splits. The Appalachian foothills yield fruit crops and burley tobacco. The vast majority of farmworkers, however, pick vegetables and tobacco closer to the eastern shore.

On the East Coast, North Carolina ranks second to Florida in farm labor population.[18] North Carolina has the third largest number of farmworkers in the United States. It is the second largest agricultural state and is the largest migrant labor demand state on the East Coast.[19] In recent years, about fifty percent of migrant workers are from Hispanic backgrounds; a quarter or more are Black Americans, and almost a quarter are Haitians.[20] They live mainly in the eastern counties of Nash, Wilson, Harnett, Duplin and Sampson.

Crew bosses obtain contracts and hire workers, travel

north and move into housing that is usually provided by the farmer. Some farmworkers have little idea where they are. They arrive at isolated, rural camps that are often miles from telephones, stores and post offices. To most North Carolinians, the migrants are an invisible, non-existent people. Communities fear and ignore the new arrivals. Signs discourage visitors from entering the camps. Some farmworkers may never have a single conversation with a North Carolinian during their stay. While migrants guarantee a rapid and efficient harvest, they are seldom welcomed on their arrival nor are they thanked at their departure.

They live in old barns, abandoned houses. Some camps have no gas or electricity, so the men and women must cook outdoors. The bathrooms are outhouses that are frequently full and unsanitary.

Once the crew has moved into the new home, the workers wait for the harvest to begin. When there is no work, there is little else to do. Long periods of underemployment alternate with the harvest peaks. Finally the grower decides that the time has come to start the harvest and tells the crew boss which fields to have picked. Early in the morning, the boss calls everyone to the bus. Then they go to the fields with buckets or boxes. The whole family often works, even the children. In North Carolina, twelve-year-olds may legally work, and under certain conditions, even ten-year-olds.[21]

Whether in California's lettuce fields or in the pickle cucumber harvest of North Carolina, there is much bending and

lifting. Fill the bucket, load the truck, get a ticket for credit, then stoop and pick again. Working by "piece rate" is a highly developed skill, and it is exhausting.

Farmworkers are decent, hardworking people. But their lives are filled with hardship and tragedy. Life as a farmworker is unhealthy. Unsanitary camp conditions and limited health care mean that many suffer from illnesses seen more in underdeveloped countries than in the United States. Dysentery and tuberculosis are prevalent. Partially due to the use of baby formula, infants are frequently anemic.[22] Mothers often mix the formula with water that is unclean and put in unsterilized bottles. This practice can also lead to malnutrition.

Among adults, health clinics see a disproportionately large incidence of venereal disease, hypertension and alcoholism.[23] In some labor camps, alcohol is resold for a steep profit in violation of state law. A crew leader near Benson speaks of the profit he makes from drinkers. "With 10 good pickers you get 1,000 boxes. With 10 winos, you get 500 boxes. I make the same either way."[24]

Farmworkers are the most poorly paid occupational group in the United States. They are rarely able to accumulate enough cash to make a rent deposit, buy a car or purchase anything requiring a downpayment. The small incomes are only one part of their bleak economic situation.

> According to recent statistics the farmworker family receives an average combined income of $3,025.00....Concommitantly, unlike their counterparts in industry, the farmworker's wage is bereft of many fringe benefits and generally without workmen's compensation, social security, health insur-

> ance and retirement. Difficulty in obtaining unemployment benefits is particularly crippling to farmworkers since their work is sporadic and temporary, especially for the migrants who average only 78 days of farm wage work yearly. It is also important to note that the annual income figure does not reflect the long list of typical deductions such as recruitment, transportation, housing and food expenses, items for which the migrants are often overcharged. Moreover, travel, sick days, rainy weather, administrative and crop problems are all uncompensated "time out" and impact the number of working days as well as the yearly income of the migrants.
>
> The high cost of ceaseless travel exaggerates the migrants' poverty. Their lifestyle reduces considerably the buying power of the dollar. With little room for storage, bulk buying becomes impossible and necessities are purchased when needed with no thought to comparison shopping. Unfamiliarity with the region and an underlying fear and mistrust of the local population precludes the migrants from shopping at stores best suited to their needs and income.[25]

Farmwork is the third most dangerous occupation in the United States.[26] One of the principal hazards of farmwork is pesticides, which include a whole family of chemicals: herbicides, insecticides, rodenticides, fungicides and nematicides. In recent years so many new chemicals have been introduced, and so widely applied, that we will not know the longterm results on people for years to come.

Pesticides join the food chain from the time of first planting until the last harvest. Virtually all produce contains pesticide residues. Pesticides enter the agricultural worker undetected--through the eyes, in the drinking water, or through the skin. Sometimes pesticide warnings are heeded, sometimes the crop has peaked and must be harvested and the warnings are ignored. According to an EPA study, North Caro-

lina ranks second only to Texas in the number of agricultural workers hospitalized due to pesticide poisoning.[27] Even farmers have been poisoned. The rate of hospitalizations of farmers in 1974-76 was 81 per 100,000 hospital admissions. This is forty times the national average.[28]

Aside from poor health conditions, farmworkers suffer from not having the legal protection most American citizens enjoy. They were excluded from the National Labor Relations Act of 1938. Only two percent of farmworkers are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. Although farm labor is the third most dangerous profession, many farmworkers are still without compensation insurance. As of 1982, North Carolina had no Worker's Compensation coverage.[29] A 1979 report by Duke University Fellow Joshua Reichert, rated North Carolina at the bottom (20th among 20 agricultural states) in legislation that provides protection for farmworkers.[30]

Farmworkers are fearful of the violence that occurs in the camps. While some camps are free of violence and are well run, many are not. Sometimes farmworkers have fought among themselves and others have been victims of crewleader violence. A recent trial addressed the problem. The 1981 case of U.S. vs. Warren, et. al., was the third slavery case in North Carolina since the mid-1970's. It was heard in federal district court before U.S. District Court Judge W. Earl Britt. The crew boss's assistant and the crew boss were charged with slavery leading to the death of one of their workers. In January, 1982, a federal jury in Raleigh found the two migrant crew bosses guilty of conspiring to hold a worker in slave-

like conditions that resulted in his death.[31]

A 1982 report on crewleader violence concluded that, "... the perpetuation of systematic violence, supported by the passivity and indifference of local law enforcement agencies and community is fundamentally shocking."[32] The conservative U.S. News and World Report concluded that, "A migrant can still toil 12 hours a day and end up in debt to a boss who enforces discipline with violence."[33]

Several agencies work directly with farmworkers. In addition to job training and placement, nutrition education and housing, the Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association runs English classes for non-literate, non-English speaking adults in the four counties having the largest migrant labor population. Other agencies have organized legal assistance, health care, prayer meetings and social events. Hundreds of volunteers and many churches have donated clothing and health kits. The federal government has responded with support for job training. President Reagan's Job Training Partnership Act states that:

> The Congress finds and declares that...chronic seasonal unemployment and underemployment in the agricultural industry, aggravated by continual advancements in technology and mechanization resulting in displacement, constitute a substantial portion of the nation's rural employment problem and substantially affect the entire national economy...[34]

Other federal legislation improved laws governing farm labor but further cutbacks have been enacted against Legal Services.

In January, 1983, the North Carolina Study Commission on

Farmworker Legislation proposed new laws to the full Legislature:

1. Strengthen laws governing farmorker housing and camp sanitation.
2. Coordinate the inspection of migrant camps under one state agency.
3. Appropriate additional funds for inspection of migrant housing.
4. Pass a state anti-slavery law with penalties provided.
5. Require liability insurance coverage for farmworkers.
6. Request a study by Congress of the problems of migrants.
7. Initiate a North Carolina Farmworker Commission to consider overall issues and problems of migrant workers.

Farmworkers Legal Services and other groups have urged further reforms. Among them are:

1. Increase protection from pesticide poisoning. Reduce levels of pesticide application.
2. Require not only liability insurance but Worker's Compensation as it now exists in industry and public jobs.
3. Extend minimum wage laws to farmworkers.

V. HAITIAN MIGRANT FARMWORKERS: LEARNING STYLES

Most Haitians who arrived after 1977 not only are unable to read and write English, they are also nonliterate in their mother tongue of Haitian Creole. In fact, only recently have linguists constructed a Creole orthography. Slowly this new written language is entering the curricula of some schools. Creole is still an aural-oral language. The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) emphasizes the complexity of the learning process:

> Difficult as it is to become literate in one's own language, the task of doing so in a second or foreign language complicates the task. Teaching nonliterate students to read English requires special consideration... Apart from the problem of when to introduce literacy lessons in the ESL situation, there is also the general problem of introducing the notion of written symbolization to your students. Pre-reading drills are very important to the adult student.[35]

Print instructional media are less useful than visual, oral, tactile teaching materials. For students to succeed in text and workbook materials, they must be able to discriminate and interpret black and white symbols. Preliterate students are highly skilled at sensual discrimination, but they are unskilled in print discrimination. While they may not be able to read, they notice gestures, movements, smells, textures, sounds and tastes. They associate audible, verbal sounds with

sensual stimuli.

> Instructional materials that teach verb tenses in order of complexity, for example, are not functional. Realia (real objects) and pictures, maps, etc., are very useful.[36]

Not surprisingly, radios and audio cassettes have become modes of information transmittal among nonliterate peoples throughout the world. In fact, the one piece of technology that even the smallest villages possess is usually the "radio kaset." While radio programs could serve the same purpose, and do so in New York and Miami, the smaller and more transient farmworker population has yet to attract Creole programming on the local stations. Production and distribution of audio cassettes are a necessary adjunct to the ESL classes.

Nonliterate students learn more in an activity-oriented classroom. Lectures, lengthy explanations and written assignments are counter-productive. On the other hand, an action-oriented teacher can use a variety of techniques to involve the students in mastery learning. CAL recommends five controlled, sequential drills: repetition, substitution, total physical response, transformation and chain drills.[37]

Haitian ESL students are adults who need functional, survival skills. ESL students must not be treated as children. The learners have families and full-time jobs. They have had a wealth of personal experiences and should be respected as peers.

ESL teachers, therefore, must use experiential, activity-oriented teaching. The teachers have graduated from structured.

print-centered schools. They need re-orientation and ongoing development of skills appropriate for the ESL setting.*

*For further information see student interviews in Appendix.

VI. HAITIAN MIGRANT FARMWORKERS:
CULTURAL CONTEXT OF LEARNING
Background of Haitians and Implications for Educators

Haitians are Afro-Caribbeans. Don't assume that Haitians want to be imitation Americans. They cherish their culture, especially the first-generation immigrants. They may adapt but they will not be acculturated.

Haitian "boat people" are Creole speakers. Haitians need the functional literacy to survive. But they also must have the opportunity to learn more than just the basic symbols, vocabulary and phrases. They need the opportunity to learn concepts as well. These must be explained by a Creole speaker, preferably a Haitian. Since a Creole orthography exists, and since nonliterate peoples learn a new language faster and more deeply after gaining literacy in the original home language, some Creole content will increase skill in English and self-esteem. Ability to speak French is an asset for an ESL teacher but perpetrates élite vs. peasant schisms.

Haitians have a Haitian ancestry. The music, dance, proverbs and stories are cultural treasures. Give plenty of opportunities to share, perform and teach. Try recording the music for later broadcast on a radio station or for a demo

tape for a church or club where they could give a performance.

Haitians in the farmworker stream are rooted in the land. Here again are sources for vocabulary and sharing stories. Many Haitians hope for a chance to settle on land and farm.

Elite Haitians are not migrants. Not all élite Haitian-Americans are appropriate ESL teachers. Many are condescending, refuse to speak Creole and have had little contact with their country's rural people.

The enforcement of Haiti's political system is brutal; legal protection of dissidents is non-existent. Haitians potentially have greater protection available to them in the U.S. Access to community colleges, assistance for the sick and injured, legal rights if accused of a crime, all exist in the U.S. but not in Haiti. Inform them.

While most Haitians are nonliterate and have had little schooling, they know their history and geography. Pictures and stories of Haiti are excellent starting points for generating conversation. Here is an opportunity for asking the people to talk about their home and history. They will use some words repeatedly. Many of these have meanings on several levels. These are key words and can be the basis for discussion and, once broken into component parts, for phonetic construction of other words.

Social ties are strong in Haiti. Kin groups, collective harvesting and clothes washing at the river are valued for the

social support they provide.

After the survival needs of housing, food and money are met, the immigrant needs social contact. Haitians have forceful discussions (gran diskisyon) that seem volatile to the American but which are part of the normal interchange for the Haitian. Haitians will form cohesive groups if given encouragement. Many factors urge divisiveness (tension of the camp life and suspicion of macoutes, legal vs. non-legal status, ups and downs of the harvest, lack of family for support, friction between Hispanic, Black and Haitian), and consequent powerlessness. Community organization is essential.

Haitians do not use credentialing in their valuing of people; few go to the institutions that would give such certifications. They need to be aware of the U.S. workplace value on finishing high school or obtaining the GED (high school equivalency certificate).

Haitians have contradictory foci: status striving vs. egalitarianism. Emphasize the need for mutual help and peer teaching.

The problems in Haiti will not be solved by emigrating. Little chance for change in Haiti now exists, but the eventual restructuring will come from the people in the country, not from the Haitian-American. At least the Haitian should be encouraged to tell the family back home what the reality of the U.S. is really like. Serendipity it is not. Any admis-

sion of failure or hard times is humiliating to the immigrant, and many Haitians never tell their families the real story of their struggle--the disappointments as well as the successes.

VII. HAITIAN MIGRANT FARMWORKERS: THE FARM LABOR SYSTEM AS CONTEXT OF LEARNING

Background of Farmworkers and Implications for Educators

Life in the migrant stream is based on explicit and implicit use of violence. It is not healthy and leads to little job security. The role of functional literacy is to provide some of the base for a growing self-esteem and self-maintenance. While settling out of the stream may be impossible now, the migrant can certainly learn many of the skills that will make it possible to have the security of a home and a steady, year-round job. Practical skills are critical: map reading, check writing (especially money orders), numeration (counting money and buckets, telephone dialing), leases, taxes, driver licensing, home repair, First Aid, hygiene and pesticide recognition. Social skills: employment interviewing, joining a group and meeting new people, making grievances, asking for help, communicating with Americans of the opposite sex. For some the objectives may be limited (e.g. learn the fine motor skill of holding a pencil). For one or two there may be an opportunity to give vocational training and seek placement out of the stream.

Farmworkers seldom have their own vehicles nor do they know local roads. The classes must take place in migrant

camps unless alternative facilities are nearby.

Farmworkers stay in North Carolina from one to six months. Classes must count for some specific learning each time. Even a six-month class offers far too few hours for any comprehensive literacy or job training program. Specific, useful skills, however, can be taught efficiently.

Farmworkers usually work all day. The classes must take place at night. The students may be tired and need to eat supper and change clothes. The class may last until late in the evening.

VIII. CASE STUDY: THE FARMWORKER SCHOOL

A. Quanfitying the Teaching and Learning

Student Profile

From July-November, 1982, 274 students were enrolled in the ESL classes. Eligibility was determined using the following criteria from the Division of Social Services (Form 5010):

-Possess valid I-94 card
-Meet income cut-off
-Work as migrant farmworker

The average student was a twenty-five-year-old male who had been in the United States almost three years. Students were between the ages of 18 and 60, with 54% between 20 and 31. Students had been in the U.S. from six months to ten years. Four out of five students were men.

Literacy Skills

The first wave of Haitian immigrants was largely made up of skilled, professional, literate families. They left with tourist visas, landed good jobs in North America, Canada or Europe and chose not to return to Duvalier's Haiti. They arrived in the U.S. beginning with the election of "Papa Doc" Duvalier in 1957.

Since 1972 the immigrants have come from the drought-stricken rural areas, urban squatter settlements and small,

economically depressed towns. They arrive with no visa, no money and only a small amount of clothing. They are unschooled, poor and willing to do any job to get by. It is from this latter group that the farm labor contractors have gathered so many people.

"The Haitians are ideal farmworkers," say many crew bosses. "They work hard and they don't complain." But farmworker advocacy groups point out that the Haitians are hardworking because they are desperate and poorly informed. They don't complain because they fear deportation and don't understand what rights they have. Most Haitian farmworkers cannot fill out even the basic parts of a job application or take a driver's license examination. They cannot write out postal money orders nor can they use the telephone directory. They are 95% nonliterate.

Literacy Development: Pretest/Posttest Measurement

MSFA's Cuban Haitian Entrant Program testing provided important data on the extent of oral English skills and literacy in English, and the effects of a six-month ESL intervention. At the first and second classes the teachers administered a six-part standardized literacy test.[39] The sub-tests were progressively more difficult with the last asking, in effect, GED-level questions. The tests included the following evaluations:

A. Oral Skills
B. Arabic Numbers
C. Arithmetic
D. Pre-literacy

E. Reading/Writing
F. Literacy

At the end of the classes, usually two or three months later, the teachers administered the same test again.

The data yielded some of the first statistically reliable information ever collected on nonliterate, non-English speaking Haitian immigrants. Researchers have usually avoided the Haitians because of the migratory lifestyle and the substantial language barrier. The data presented below form the beginning of pioneer work into the levels of preliteracy and the amount of English spoken by these immigrants.

Oral Skills. They understand some basic conversations. On the average, correctly responded (in English) to five of the eight (63%) questions. After the ESL classes, six (74%) of the answers were correct.

TEST A - ORAL EVALUATION

One point for each correct answer. Questions to be asked in English.

1. What's your name?
2. Where are you from?
3. How old are you?
4. How many people are there in the camp?
5. What time is it?
6. What is the date today?
7. What did you eat this morning?
8. What kind of work did you do this week?

Numeration. Ability to count and recognize number symbols is a prerequisite to computation. New students answered five (66%) of the following questions accurately. At the last class, students answered six (73%) of the questions correctly.

Analysis revealed that questions 3 and 4 were culturally biased in that a "number following a number" is not a question that makes sense in Creole.

TEST B - ARABIC NUMBER EVALUATION

Read aloud in Creole. One point for each correct answer.

1. Konté jiska sink. (Count to 5.)
2. Konté jiska dis. (Count to 10.)
3. Ki numero ki swiv katre-vin-diset? (What follows 97?)
4. Ki numero ki swiv mil, milsan, mil de san? (What follows 1,000; 1,100; 1,200?)
5. Kopié $3.50 _____
6. Kopié 103 _____
7. Kopié 3527 _____
8. Kopié 8394 _____

Computation. Adding and subtracting skills are valued highly since, for example, there is no other way to check if the "piece work" labor is credited properly. The students answered five (57%) of the questions correctly on the pretest. After the classes, the subtraction continued to be difficult and six (62%) of the answers were correct.

TEST C - ARITHMETIC EVALUATION

Have the student do the addition and subtraction examples, then score one point for each correct answer.

EXAMPLE:	4	1.	4	2.	9	3.	67	4.	$2.00
	+2		+1		+7		+53		+1.50

EXAMPLE:	5	5.	5	6.	24	7.	16	8.	$5.00
	-1		-3		-12		-9		-3.25

Pre-Literacy. Writing is a fine motor skill. While some Haitians had only used pointed instruments as tools or weapons,

literacy requires the pointed stick to follow invisible curved and straight lines. This skill is learned so early in the United States that few educators know how children obtain the coordination to work a pencil. The distance between a non-writer and a writer is enormous. For some adults a year may be necessary to master the control of a pencil.

In the following test the students are merely ranked according to the highest level of skill obtained. The average pretest rating was 5.4 and the posttest value average was 5.9. In other words, the average student was able to write his or her name slowly by the end of the class; whereas the average student had previously not been able to write his or her name.

TEST D - PRE-LITERACY EVALUATION

Score Test D by giving the student a numerical value next to the description that best fits her/his ability:

Points

1 Cannot hold pencil.
2 Holds pencil awkwardly.
3 Holds pencil with ease.
4 Can follow line on paper.
5 Not able to write name.
6 Can write name slowly.
7 Can write name with ease.
8 Can write Creole or English with ease.

Reading/Writing. This test asked the student to fill out a simplified employment application. Some questions were easy (name, age, sex, name of crew boss). Others were more difficult. Few farmworkers, even Americans, know the address of the camp or the name of the grower. The average number answered correctly on the pretest was 3.2 and on the posttest, 4.0.

TEST E - READING/WRITING EVALUATION

Ask the student to fill in the form below. Score one point for each correct answer.

1. Name:_____
2. Address of camp:_____
3. Age:_____ 4. Sex:_____
5. Date of birth: _____ _____ _____
   Month Day Year
6. Are you married?_____
7. What is your occupation?_____
8. Name of crew boss:_____
9. Name of grower:_____

Literacy Evaluation. Understanding the context of a paragraph is the combination of reading, writing and comprehension. In this test a variety of skills were necessary. Students could receive credit for contextually correct answers but had to defend their answers. Correct responses on any of these questions indicated that the student could read and write, even if only minimally.

The average student did not answer even one correctly on either the pre- or posttest. However, 14 students filled in at least one blank correctly on the pretest and 26 answered one or more correctly on the posttest. Literacy* was 6% before the classes and 9% by the end of November, 1982. This means that the number of literate students rose by 50%.

TEST F - LITERACY EVALUATION

Student is to read the following paragraph and fill in the blanks with the correct words. Only one word is to be written in each blank. Score one point for each correct answer.

*Literacy is defined here as the ability to write at least one contextually correct answer in a series of written sentences.

The goat is a common animal _____ Haiti. It has two sharp horns _____ four legs. It uses its _____ to run fast. _____ goat eats grass and leaves from _____. Some people drink the goat's _____ and make cheese from it. The goat uses its two _____ to fight.

Literacy Development: Effect of Contact Hours on Test Scores. The data also suggests the relationship between hours in class and consequent learning. In the graphs (Tables 1 and 2), there is strong, positive correlation between number of contact hours and increase in test scores. In other words, the longer the students were in class, the more they increased their score on the test.

Table 2 reveals that students experienced an average net gain of one point for every eight to nine class hours. At this rate even the most nonliterate students would achieve GED-level literacy after one academic year of full-time schooling.

In tables 1 and 2, students with less than seven contact hours and more than 63 hours were removed. So much of the early class time involved tasks other than ESL (e.g. eligibility determination, enrollment, attendance, pretesting) that a short-term student simply would not yield reliable posttest results.

Literacy Development: Net Change vs. Time in the United States. (Table 3) No significant relationship existed between time spent in the U.S. and net change on test scores. The range of time in the U.S. was so narrow (1.0 to 3.0 years) that the differences in language acquisition were insignificant.

Analysis. The average number of contact hours was 18.0. This number of hours is equivalent to less than a week of public school. Considering the limited exposure to English teaching and the fact that most Haitians attended less than two years of school in Haiti, the average net score increase of four points is impressive. Furthermore, the curriculum was survival skills, not standardized pre-GED skills. The tests yielded scores that were only marginally an evaluation of the classroom learning.

TABLE 1

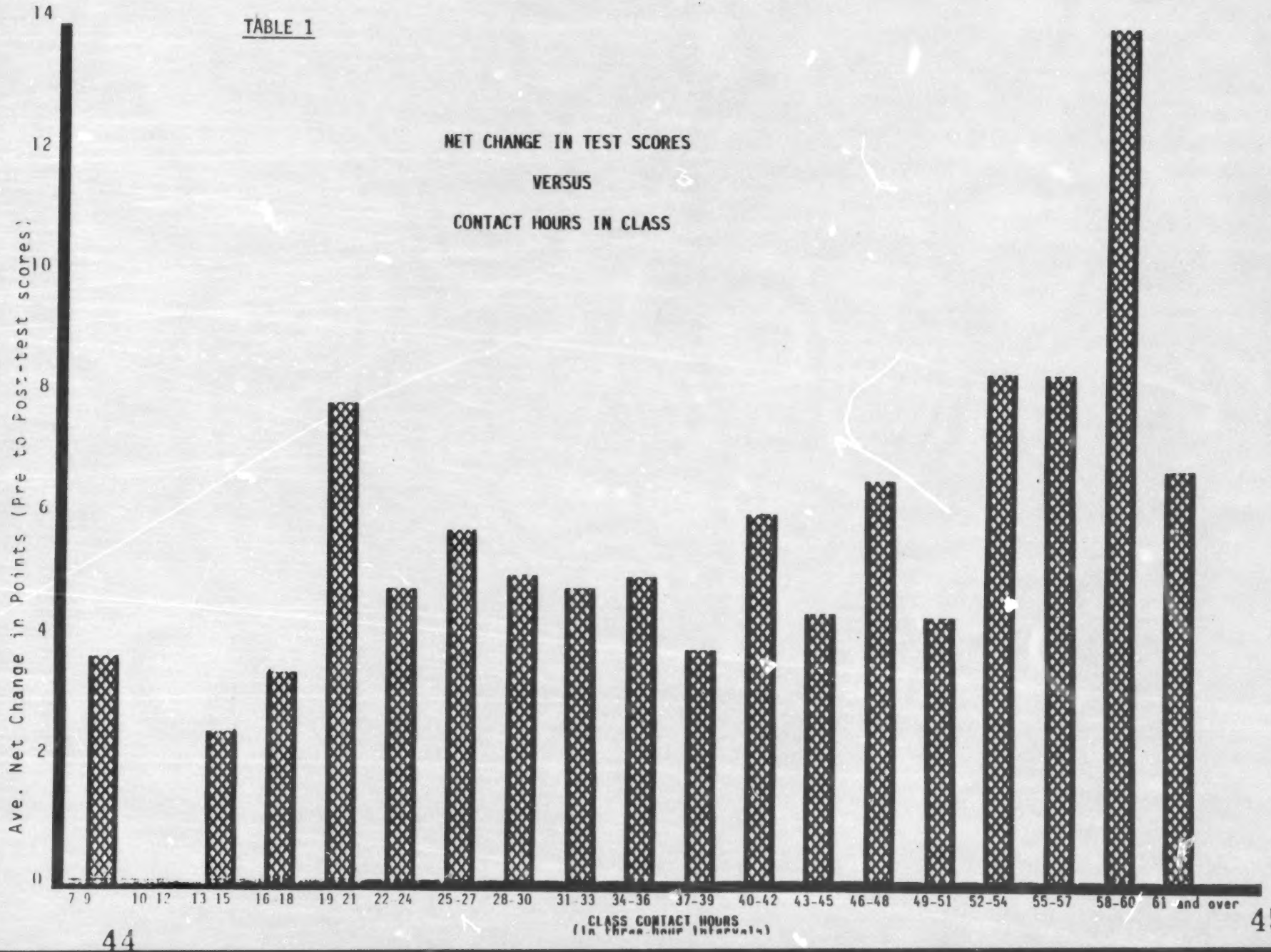

NET CHANGE IN TEST SCORES
VERSUS
CONTACT HOURS IN CLASS
Ave. Net Change in Points (Pre to Post-test scores)
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
7 9
10 12
13 15
16 18
19 21
22 24
25-27
28-30
31 33
34-36
37-39
40-42
43-45
46-48
49-51
52-54
55-57
58-60
61 and over
CLASS CONTACT HOURS
(In three-hour intervals)

TABLE 2

NET CHANGE IN TEST SCORES

VERSUS

CONTACT HOURS IN CLASS

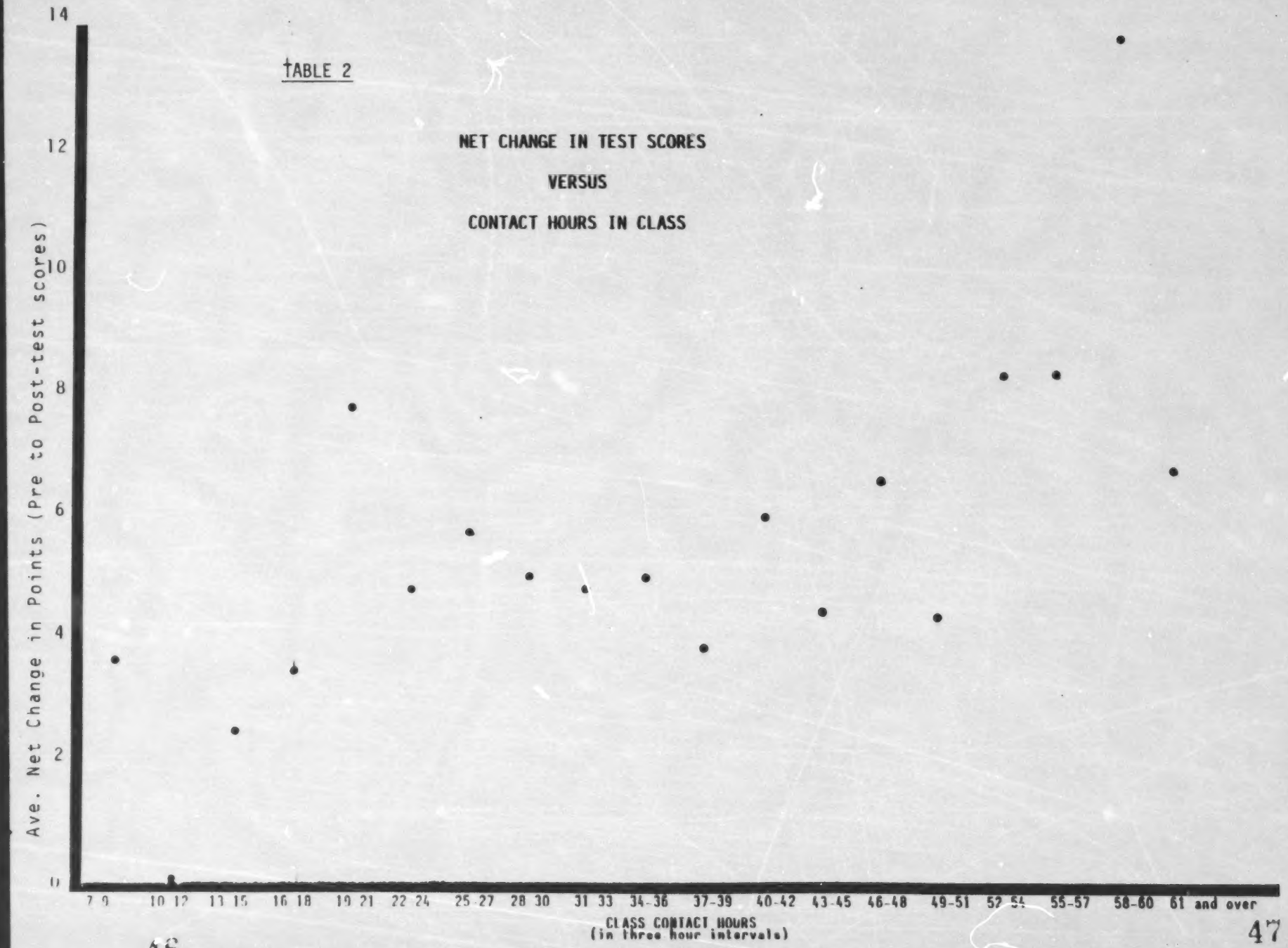
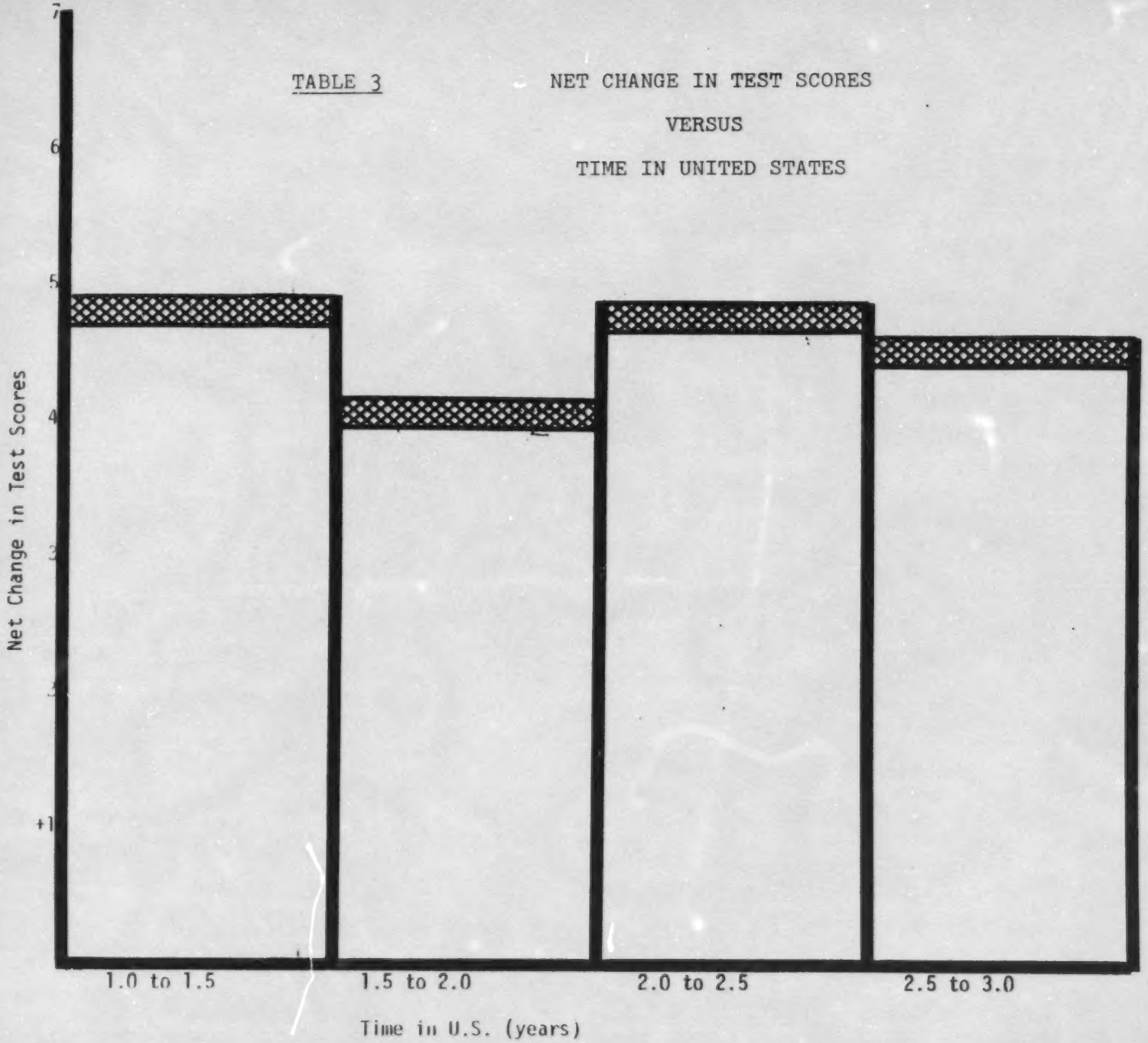


TABLE 3

NET CHANGE IN TEST SCORES

VERSUS

TIME IN UNITED STATES



B. The Process of Becoming a Teacher

Teacher Profile

The average teacher was a white, thirty-year-old female who commuted fifty miles to her two-hour class. The range of teacher background was wide, however, and it can hardly be said that there was an average teacher. Of the nineteen regular teachers, eleven were women. Their ages ranged from twenty-one to fifty-five. All but one were college graduates and the one who had not graduated spoke Creole, French and English. Seven teachers spoke French and three were fluent in Creole. Ten had been teachers or professors and seven of these had ESL experience. Three teachers were Haitian and four others had substantial experience with Haitians through other agencies such as Legal Services or North Carolina Action for Farmworkers.

Expectations

> I knew I was getting into the migrant situation, but I didn't realize I'd be in the camp. I was duly shocked, especially by the back porch. The mosquitoes were even bigger on the back porch. Haitians have been of great interest to me. In terms of the ESL program, I didn't know what I was getting into, I just felt that I would meet the needs.
>
> -Maurice J.

> I felt open to it all at the beginning. I had only worked at the migrant health clinic once. I had not worked with migrants. What I was looking for was to learn a lot. I did learn a lot about Haitians.
>
> -Petrona G.

Applicants for teaching positions expected the work to be similar to what they had experienced before. The Peace Corpsmen anticipated a Third World situation, the college pro-

fessors looked for a structured classroom and the law students foresaw an adversarial relationship with the crew bosses.

The teachers relied on the preconceptions throughout the orientation and into the first classes. They treated the students as the Brazilians, Tanzanians or college students who they had taught in the past. They met the Haitians, saw the different appearances, heard the language and felt the camp ambiance but they did not know how to incorporate the new impressions into their class. They played out mental "tapes" recorded at other times and places.

> More helpful than university training was prior teaching in Brazil. On the other hand, I've always been thrown that they're not <u>just</u> like Brazilians.
> -Jack R.

<u>The First Class: Expectations Challenged</u>

The teachers drove through rural eastern North Carolina and arrived at the shabby, weather-beaten housing that is the migrants' home. The scene is unlike any school. American, Haitian and Hispanic men and women are washing, telling stories around a fire, fixing a car, cooking dinner. Haitian women wear kerchiefs on their heads. The men wear clean, polyester shirts carefully <u>not</u> tucked in. Reggae, meringue and disco songs come out of long gray barracks. Large trucks and school buses ring the flat, orange, dusty yard. Hot oil cooks chicken, beans and rice.

The teacher wants to meet and enroll the students, gain their trust, set a schedule, get permission of the crew boss and ask directions about driving home. The only resource

seems to be the man who calls out gruffly, "What you want?"

The Real Start: Challenging the Expectations

Gradually, the experience forced a reevaluation of assumptions. The teachers felt something change; they realized that they had achieved entrée into the strange setting. They were accepted. Inexplicably, they felt something different and they realized that a new experience had started. They had moved from the status of guest to co-participant.

An incident, always unpredictable, would trigger the change in teacher self-concept. Up until a certain point, the teacher could manipulate the class and largely determine what was going to happen. Gradually the teachers saw that these poor, nonliterate "victims" were taking initiatives. The students had been passive recipients and now they were using the class to express themselves. They were becoming co-managers. The students who built a crude classroom told their teacher that, "We feel pride in our school!" The Haitians who refused to sign with an "X" were saying, "I am somebody because I can sign my name now."

> After the first class they dragged in buckets and stumps and made seats. They carefully made the space into a classroom. They put a nail in the tree to hold the flip chart. They made a woven ceiling over the class area.
>
> -Daniel M.

> Two sisters were students in my class. They said they wanted to learn to write their names. They had always used an "X" to sign for the receipt of their weekly pay. One day the crew leader's wife told us that she was "really surprised" that they could now sign their names. Before this, she had doubts about the ESL class. This changed her mind.
>
> -Yvette L.

> There was the night Elie sat with his jaw wrapped and his mouth packed. He spit blood...holding ice on his face, blood dripping into the bucket. He had had major surgery. We were doing nothing special, but he refused to leave. They were there for the encounter, not for the language.
>
> -Rosa L.

The real start was the moment of realization that teaching became a two-way process. At first the teachers saw themselves only as helpers, providers of skills. Gradually they saw that they could not impress their stamp on everything; they needed help too.

> One night my co-teachers had to leave the camp for awhile. I was scared of the loud drunks on the other side of the yard. I felt alone. Marcel, Pierre and the others sensed my distress. They moved into a circle and put themselves between me and the porch of the other house. They said nothing. That's what was so touching. They stayed there till the other two teachers got back.
>
> -Marlene F.

> This Vietnam vet who was crazy came in and put out his hand. I ignored him and he went to my wife, Donna, and took her hand and started telling her how beautiful she looked. I simply watched--did nothing. One little Haitian fellow stepped up, put his fists up and told him to get out. I felt really bad. I mean, I hadn't even defended Donna and the Haitian had.
>
> -Grover V.

Learning to Teach: Crisis and Resolution

After the teachers realized that the students had a stake in the class, they started to pay attention to the rhythms of farmworker life. The patterns seemed idiosyncratic at first. Then they learned that the idiosyncracies were the pattern. Each day brought a series of hard questions and critical situations: wages were too low or not paid; the stove's gas ran

out; a woman's knees were swollen; the car broke down; a baby had diarrhea. The teachers found that every group had dozens of emotionally laced crisis that were ideal learning opportunities.

> One evening I drove up and saw a car in the ditch. There were about 20 Haitians in a gran diskision. A fellow from the camp had just gotten the car that day. They were waiting for a nearby farmer to pull it out and a tractor soon pulled it.
>
> The owner drove it to the Singleton camp. The car was in serious shape. Steam was coming out of the radiator. The frame seemed to have been bent.
>
> I began to flounder around about what to do. Obviously this was more exciting than the class.
>
> Then I noticed they were throwing water on the engine, especially on the battery cables. They said there was a fire and pointed to the sparks coming from a cable shorting off of the engine. I told them that, "You gotta take the battery out!" I got my tools and I and another person took the battery out.
>
> In class we discussed the parts of the car, what was broken, etc. The guys were really interested.
>
> -Alexander B.

> Very revealing to me was an incident when we played supermarket. We brought various items like cereal boxes. I brought play money. Someone was to work at the store and the other was to be a customer. I said that I needed a volunteer to run the store. Their response was, "How much will I be paid?" I told them, $2.00 per hour," and they said, "No, $6 per hour."
>
> The person playing the clerk picked up the items as the customer told him what he wanted. One by one he bought each item as it was picked up and sold by the clerk. I noticed there was an argument. The clerk said, "He did not pay." I told them that, "I just shop here," and I did not interfere.
>
> They kept arguing. Finally the owner of the imaginary store called the police. Another person came by as the police and dragged the customer off by the collar. I said, "Let the customer tell his side of

the story." Then the police took off with the store owner. The customer told me, "The boss is trying to cheat me." All in English!

Learning to Teach: Structuring Learning Experiences

Soon teachers saw that the camp environment provided more than enough material for a curriculum. A teacher spoke of the need for an American to be in the camp all the time. The Haitians would have someone with whom to discuss the ups and downs of immigrant life. This was not possible but the teachers soon became the first Americans ever to meet regularly with them. The Haitians articulated a flood of problems and hopes.

Soon the teachers felt overwhelmed by the infinite need for dialogue on every imaginable topic. Students asked about writing love letters, obtaining residency, finding a job, applying for food stamps, buying a car. The suggested curriculum fell by the wayside under an avalanche of demands for relevant information.

More than anything else, the teachers became a link to the mainstream society. They were the first tenuous thread in a societal web in which the Haitians hope to have a place. As liasons, they began to ask, "What is the most effective role I can play in a short length of time?" They worried that the ad hoc, crisis-oriented teaching would not be sufficient. They sought a curriculum and a learning structure that was responsive but which was useful to as many of the students as possible. Since it was impossible to work with each problem and all skill levels, the teachers soon made several major

decisions.

1. They split the class into preliterate and literate sections.
2. They built a sequential, teachable program that was the core of class time.
3. They pushed social time and crisis resolution into the pre-class and post-class time. The class became the language "workout;" personal concerns were for other times.
4. In sum, they decided that interactive skills were what students wanted. To master those skills was to gain (1) the ability to better master the environment, and (2) self-esteem and confidence to go further.

I was kind of intimidated at first. That made me prepare better for the class. The first time I had to teach on my own, I brought a lot of pictures and a collage I had made. I tried lots of different pictures till one fellow caught on. They were really interested and we mutually reinforced one another. I really enjoyed teaching by myself better than teaching with others. But there were advantages to teaching together. For example, together we could demonstrate a dialogue.

We started writing a lot of things on flash cards and flip charts. They wanted to write things down. They really didn't understand at all what they were reading. We could have gotten a little more done if we had not confused them with all that.

Sometimes we did just conversation. We had the best time engaging them in spontaneous discussion. After a few weeks they had the vocabulary and could talk about real things going on. We brought more visual aids. We started a store and had advanced, complex discussions about the store. They took the initiative. This was another advancement. Instead of just looking at me, they showed they <u>did</u> understand and had confidence in themselves. It helped me for them to show me what they wanted.

-Carl G.

We went over basics: concepts of time (from seconds to years): how to use a pay phone; emergency phone numbers. We did the calendar, spatial relationships (inside/outside), colors, materials (wood, etc.), maps, distances, directions, transportation. We did grocery store; brought in ads from A & P,

etc. We went through identifying the foods and comparing prices. Some wanted math. We worked on math quite a bit. There were some people who weren't ready for addition, etc.

The school bell...it was one we had hanging in the car, so we just threw it in our box of junk. It was fun. I don't know if it worked to have someone go round and ring a bell to announce our arrival--maybe it did! We did it every class once we started. Either that or I'd go out and shout to let everyone know it was class time.

The ABC song was our first song. They liked to sing. They sang a few Haitian songs, too. We sang "Old McDonald Had a Farm"--they chose the animals and drew them. They always wanted to throw in the chicken and goat--they're important animals to them.

Homework. It wasn't very compulsory. We would suggest it. It was mostly calendars. Some did the homework, some forgot. The "teachers' pets" always did the homework.

We did a lot of "left" and "right" and "Simon Says." That was always good to wake up a crowd, but it also drew in the drunks. At first I felt uncomfortable. I didn't know if they felt we were treating them like babies or not.

-Maya R.

Learning to Teach: The Affective Side

Teachers learned to put together a rigorous language "workout." The students responded to the teachers--they saw a language teacher, a friend and an advocate. The teachers gradually let themselves feel the warmth, spontaneity and trust that the students extended. The heart of the class was the trust and honor shared between immigrant farmworker and teacher. Many teachers let themselves feel the pain of the struggle to survive in the migrant stream.

If you put that much investment into it, it's important for you to not let ego get involved. Maybe the teachers need to be threaded through the emotional

needle. This is emotional. It grabs you by the heart strings.

-Mark B.

The rural people had a lot of courage to take things into their own hands and leave. They just got up and left, looking for a better life. They left in their hand-made boats.

-Zelda P.

One teacher described the opening up to the gifts of the students; she called the process "learning to 'honor' the student."

We got pretty close to some of the students and not getting to say goodbye or finalyzing our relationship was hard. We'd get there and someone would say: "So-and-so gone" and BOOM. you mean we didn't even get to say goodbye?

-Alexandria B.

The teachers wanted more contact, more Creole training, more ESL skills. In the following months, several teachers went to Haiti; two teachers went to visit their former students in the Haitian community in Florida and five enrolled in Creole classes. Almost half of the teachers have asked how to continue in ESL work with farmworkers.

IX. EVALUATION

Agencies throughout the state praised the ESL program. Students and teachers remained highly motivated throughout the seven-month program and found ESL to be of significant value to the Haitians as well as to the surrounding community and to the state of North Carolina. Haitians who could never read now fill out job applications, describe aches and pains to nurses, read maps and, in general, find greater acceptance in the larger community. They feel more pride in knowing they are more self-sufficient.

North Carolina is the East Coast's largest migrant labor demand state. Over 40,000 migrants enter N.C. every spring and summer. Their story is filled with hardship. But, once in a while, a truly optimistic and hopeful sign appears. The Haitian ESL school is such a sign.

FOOTNOTES

1. Voboril, Mary, "U.S. Aid to Haiti a Failure, GAO Reports," The Miami Herald, July 4, 1982.

2. World Bank, Current Economic Position and Prospects of Haiti, Vol I, p. 61, in Tata, p. 71, (see foot note 3).

3. Tata, Robert J., Haiti: Land of Poverty, (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), p. 45-49.

4. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, Face to Face: Introduction to the People and History of Haiti, Lutheran Council of the U.S., N.Y., 1981, p. 4.

5. Tata, p. 33.

6. Ibid, p. 33.

7. The National Emergency Coalition for Haitian Refugees, "Facts About Haiti," 1982.

8. World Bank, in Tata, p. 71.

9. Rotberg, Robert I. with Christopher K. Clague, Haiti: The Politics of Squalor, A Twentieth Century Fund Study, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), p. 16.

10. Schey, Peter A., "The Black Boat People Founder on the Shoals of U.S. Policy," Migration Today, Vol. IX, No. 4-5, p. 9.

11. Reagan, Ronald, in Le Nouvelliste, January 1, 1982.

12. Nelson, Alan C., Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service, Letter to Philip N. Hawkes, Director of Office of Refugee Resettlement, May, 26, 1982.

13. Extension Economics and Business Staff, "Facts About North Carolina Agriculture: A Place to Live and Grow," N.C. Agricultural Extension Service, Raleigh, 1982, pp. 22-24.

14. Ibid, p. 53.

15. Ibid, p. 53.

16. These population estimates are made from comparing MSFA and Employment Security Commission figures. The estimates may be conservative. 1977 figures from the Legal Services Corporation place the number of N.C. migrants

and dependents at 607,115. ("An Estimate of the Number of Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in U.S. and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico," Legal Services Corporation, 1977)

17. Zimmerman, Diana, "American's Nomads, Part I" Migration Today, Vol IX, Number 3, 1981, p. 26.

18. (See Footnote 16, above.)

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Allgood, James, State and Federal Laws Affecting Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers, N.C. Agricultural Extension Service, Section I, p. 3, 1981.

22. East Coast Migrant Health Project, "Disease Classifications by Causes: Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers," undated.

23. Ibid.

24. Conversation with crew boss near Benson, N.C., August 19, 1982.

Crew leaders make money in two ways--from payroll deductions and from their percentage of the boxes picked. Payroll deductions are legal if they are made for Social Security and for coverage of the actual costs of food or housing. Crew leaders may not sell alcohol unless they have a permit and license, nor may they sell tobacco unless they have a sundries license. (James Allgood, State and Federal Laws Affecting Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers, Section VII, p. 67, 1981. See also U.S. Department of Labor, Agricultural Employment Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1979, p. 7.)

The limits on deductions are frequently violated. Reasonable charges are allowed for transportation, housing and food expenses. Unreasonable profit taking is a crime.

25. Zimmerman, p. 27.

26. Zimmerman, Diana, "America's Nomads, Part II" Migration Today, Vol IX, Number 4-5, 1981, p. 36.

27. Environmental Protection Agency, "The National Study of Hospital Admitted Pesticide Poisonings for 1974-78," Table III.

28. Ibid.

29. Villanueva, Ricardo, "The Disposable Farmworker," The Committee Report, National Farmworker Policy Project, Winter, 1981, p. 23.

30. Reichert, Joshua S., "The Agricultural Labor System in North Carolina: Recommendations for Change," a report submitted to Division of Policy Development, Department of Administration, Raleigh, N.C., June 1980, p. 51.

31. Oleck, Joan, "Migrant Crew Leaders Guilty on Slavery Charges," Raleigh News and Observer, January 23, 1982.

32. Parker, James H. and David Hemingway, "Crewleader Violence Against Farmworkers in North Carolina," North Carolina Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, 1981, pp. 1 and 13.

33. Chaze, William L., "Migrant Farm Workers Still Face a Harsh Life," U.S. News and World Report, August 9, 1982, p. 36.

34. Job Training Partnership Act (P.L. 97-300), Title IV, Section 402.

35. CAL, "Teaching English to Haitians," September, 1981, pp. 2 and 6.

36. CAL, "Considerations for a Good Haitian Migrant ESL Program," undated, p. 3.

37. CAL, "Teaching English to Refugee Adulst," May, 1982, pp. 21-24.

38. Management Information System, MSFA, Raleigh, N.C., 1982.

39. The six-part test was adapted from CAL's "Placement Evaluation - HATI Project Version."

APPENDIX

Student Interviews

As of February, 1983, a limited number of interviews had been conducted with ESL students. The students evaluated their classes by recalling the most important learning/sharing experiences. They mentioned the following at least twice:

1. Desire for a photo of the class.
2. Visitors brought by the teachers.
3. Field trips.
4. Songs and hymns sung in class.
5. Difficulty of the language barrier in communication with the teacher.
6. Desire for a job as outcome of the class.

Comments to their teachers provided a review of the friendship developed through the class.

> You are a friend of all Haitians. You help us learn English. You often came to speak with us, played with us. We don't see you as an American, because you are a friend of all Haitians. You increased our capacity to learn, "to be people." We speak to you because you often came to see us on Sundays. You increased our capacity to learn and you are an American.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Extension Economics and Business Staff, Facts About North Carolina Agriculture: A Place to Live and Grow, (Raleigh: N.C. Agricultural Extension Service, 1982).

2. Heinl, Robert Debs and Nancy Gordon Heinl, Written in Blood: A Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1971, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978).

3. Leyburn, James G., The Haitian People, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

4. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, Face to Face: Introduction to the People and History of Haiti, (New York: Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, 1981).

5. National Farmworker Policy Project, The Committee Report, (Sacramento, Ca.: National Farmworker Policy Project, Winter, 1981).

6. Parker, James H. and David Hemingway, Crewleader Violence Against Farmworkers in North Carolina, (North Carolina Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, undated).

7. Rotberg, Robert I., with Christopher K. Clague, Haiti: The Politics of Squalor, A Twentieth Century Fund Study, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971).

8. Schey, Peter A., "The Black Boat People Founder on the Shoals of U.S. Policty," Migration Today, Vol. IX, No. 4-5.

9. Tata, Robert J., Haiti: Land of Poverty, (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1982).

10. U.S. vs. Tony Booker, 655 F. 2d 562 (1981).

11. Zimmerman, Diana, "America's Nomads," Migration Today, (New York: Center for Migration Studies, Vol. IX, Numbers 3 and 4, 1981).